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ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

GUIDE TO THE PAPERS
IN THE JOHN HUNTER WALKER COLLECTION
1911-1953

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INTRODUCTION

John Hunter Walker was a prominent Illinois labor leader from the 1890s to the 1930s. He was a key figure in both the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America, and his career touched many aspects of the developing labor movement in America. His papers, housed in the Illinois Historical Survey Library, constitute an important source for the study of American labor history. The scope of the papers and their proven value for scholarly research justify undertaking the present guide in order to increase their visibility and accessibility.

A brief introduction to the various components of the guide will facilitate their use. The biographical sketch provides a summary of Walker's life, emphasizing that portion of his career reflected in the papers (1911-1945). The organizational statement explains the acquisition of the collection, how and why it was reorganized, and the types of material found in each section. Specific identification of the materials in each section is provided by the container list which is a detailed outline of the collection giving inclusive folder numbers for each segment. For the section of general correspondence, the container list provides the folder numbers for each year of correspondence. The chronological summaries are brief synopses of the issues or events discussed in the correspondence. The bulk of the letters fall between the years 1916 and 1929 and

are summarized annually; those before 1916 and after 1934 are summarized more briefly. The organizational correspondence of both the Reorganized United Mine Worker of America (1930-31), and District 12, UMWA (1931-33) are included in the summaries as distinct units. The chronological summaries are not comprehensive; they are intended to assist the researcher in determining the major issues or events which were discussed.

The final, and largest section of the guide is the name index which includes all personal and corporate names in the correspondence. Names are recorded in the form used by the author of the letter. Where possible, full names have been provided by the use of reference sources. In these instances, brackets enclose the additional information, e.g., Abt, E[rnest] J[ulius]. Where nicknames have been used extensively, they are included in parentheses and quotation marks following the name. Variant spellings of the same name are also included in the index. In order to connect key individuals with corporations, and secretaries with those for whom they worked, these names have been indexed and cross referenced. The index gives the file number and the item number of each letter within the file. The file number is underlined; item numbers are in parentheses.

The correspondence, including the general correspondence and the organizational correspondence in sections II and III, constitutes more than half of the papers in the Walker collection, and in terms of research, is its most important component.

Coordinated use of the name index, the chronological summaries, and the container list will allow the researcher to identify the correspondents, the time period in which the correspondence occurred, and the major issues discussed.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

John Hunter Walker, a Scottish immigrant to the United States, began work in the coal mines at an early age and rose in the ranks to become one of Illinois' foremost labor leaders from the turn of the twentieth century to the Depression. Although he remained intensely proud of his Scottish heritage, Walker developed a deep affinity for his adopted country and its ideals. As a spokesman for labor, he encountered hostility from segments of American society which opposed unions, yet Walker praised the freedom and opportunity America afforded its citizens. For a time he was a member of the Socialist party, yet he wholeheartedly endorsed American entry into World War I. He was an advocate of significant economic reform, but always in the context of America as a land of opportunity for the common man. Walker was a man of idealism and passion, moved by concern for the laborer. His ability to communicate his concern contributed to his widespread popularity among workers. Walker viewed people as either his friends or enemies, and issues as either right or wrong, often attributing sinister motives to those who opposed him or the views he advocated. Walker's role in the United Mine Workers of America, the largest union in the country, and in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, one of the largest state federations, placed him in the center of union activity during a key period of labor union organization. To understand Walker,

his goals, and the successes and failures of his career is to understand much of the organization and development of the miners' union as well as early twentieth-century unionism generally.

Walker was born in Binnie Hill, Stirlingshire, Scotland in 1872, the first of eight children. Men from the families of both his parents had worked in the textile mills and coal mines, and had participated in the organization of the Scottish miners' union and the cooperative movement. In 1881, when Walker was nine years old, his family emigrated to the United States, settling in Braidwood, Illinois. The next year, having finished the fourth grade, Walker began working in the coal mines. In the next ten years, he gained the experience as a miner which qualified him to become a spokesman for the interests of coal miners. Following his father's blacklisting in Illinois because of his union activity, the family moved to the Oklahoma Indian Territory for a time, where John and his father worked in the mines. John joined early union organizations such as the American Miners' Federation, the Mine Laborers, and the Knights of Labor. His own leadership abilities surfaced in the 1890s when he began organizing local unions for the newly-formed United Mine Workers of America. In 1896, he organized Local 505 in Central City, Illinois. The next year he was assigned as an organizer to work in southern Illinois and West Virginia with John Mitchell and Mary "Mother" Jones, both of whom became his

life-long friends. In 1898, he represented Local 505 at the District 12 (Illinois) convention at which the first agreement between coal operators and miners in Illinois was reached. After 1900, Walker was elected to various District 12 offices, including the District 12 presidency which he held from 1905 to 1913.

District 12 was the largest district in the UMWA, and it prospered under Walker's leadership. He oversaw the passage of several important mining laws in the Illinois legislature, including the Shot Firers Law, the Miners Qualification Law, and the Mine Rescue Station Law. The accident rate in coal mining was high, and every year thousands of men were disabled or killed. These laws represented important steps in state regulation of the mining industry for the safety of miners. In addition to improvement in mining conditions, wages in District 12 during the years of Walker's presidency were as good as or better than in any other district. Under the policy originally established by UMWA president John Mitchell, each district managed its own affairs and won its own contracts. Illinois miners profited by this policy since District 12 was the best organized district in the coal fields. Throughout his career, Walker advocated district autonomy, which later brought him into conflict with national leaders who sought to centralize the union. In 1908, Walker ran for the presidency of the UMWA hoping to succeed his friend John Mitchell. In this, the first of three presidential campaigns, Walker was not known

well enough outside of Illinois to win.

In 1908, Walker brought the Illinois miners into the Illinois State Federation of Labor (ISFL), a move which strengthened the state federation, and, at the same time, made the miners the largest contingent. In 1913, Walker was elected president of the state federation, a position which he held, with one interruption, until 1930. Although Walker maintained his interest and participation in the miners' union, as state federation president he broadened his concern to include all laborers. One example was Walker's support of the consumers' cooperative movement. The cooperative movement was intended to reduce prices workingmen would have to pay for goods, to educate workers in trade union principles, and to promote union-label products. In addition, union men hoped that the cooperative movement would foster solidarity between farmers and laborers. When a state cooperative society was formed in Illinois in 1915, Walker was elected its president. He and the state federation enthusiastically endorsed the movement for six years until it foundered following World War I. The cooperative movement was one of several largely unsuccessful attempts to instill in farmers and laborers a sense of common interest against those who exploited them.

The Socialist party was another movement with which Walker identified. He was a moderate Socialist, however, and the positions he took during the eventful years of World War I

caused his expulsion from the party. The specific cause was his endorsement in 1916 of the re-election of President Woodrow Wilson and Illinois Governor Edward Dunne over Socialist party candidates. Walker's activities following American entry into the war indicated that his sympathies were somewhat at odds with the Socialist party. Under his leadership, the ISFL joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in pledging labor's support for the war effort, and Walker was active in efforts to minimize domestic economic disruption through labor unrest during the war. He served on the Illinois State Council for Defense which successfully averted any serious wartime strikes in Illinois, and on President Wilson's Mediation Commission. Walker was bitterly criticized by Socialist friends like Adolph Germer who viewed Walker as being manipulated by the bankers and industrialists. Walker defended his participation on the commissions in patriotic terms and argued that labor's cooperation in the war effort would win the appreciation of the public and the government and would reap benefits in the postwar years. Indeed, in 1917, the governor and State Council for Defense assisted labor by making the Workmen's Compensation Law of 1913 compulsory. While serving on these commissions, Walker met both utilities magnate Samuel Insull and Harvard law professor Felix Frankfurter. He continued occasional correspondence with Insull throughout the 1920s, and his association with Frankfurter blossomed into a warm, appreciative friendship which lasted many years.

In 1919 and 1920, Walker participated in another attempt, this one political, to unite workingmen. Failure to get important labor legislation passed in the Illinois General Assembly and increased hostility of the courts to trade unions convinced Illinois labor leaders of the utility of a labor party. The Chicago Federation of Labor initiated the movement in late 1918, and under Walker's leadership the ISFL called a state convention early in 1919 at which a state labor party was formed. Its platform called for the unqualified right to organize and bargain collectively, a guaranteed minimum wage, regulation of working hours, graduated income tax, public ownership and operation of utilities, old age and health insurance, and numerous other items of social legislation. A national party was also formed at a Chicago meeting in 1919 at which Walker was selected vice chairman. The national party nominated candidates for the elections of 1920 despite the lack of support and even opposition of the AFL, which maintained its traditional policy of non-partisanship. When several farm groups lent support, the party changed its name to the Farmer-Labor Party. Walker accepted the nomination of the state party to run for governor in 1920. Despite marshaling the support of the ISFL and other labor groups, Walker polled only three percent of the vote. The Socialists polled a higher number of votes in Illinois than did the Farmer-Labor Party. This defeat effectively ended the labor party movement in Illinois, and Walker, as state federation president, returned

to the traditional practice of endorsing the candidates of the major party most favorable to the interests of labor.

While he was president of the state federation of labor, Walker maintained an active interest in the affairs of the UMWA. He spoke often and fondly of the leadership qualities and policies of his friend, John Mitchell, who led the miners' union from 1899 to 1908. During his tenure, Mitchell oversaw the vast expansion of the membership and the treasury of the union, and won favorable public opinion in the Anthracite strike of 1902. Walker generally placed himself in opposition to those who followed Mitchell as union president, and compared them unfavorably to their predecessor. Clearly there were significant areas of disagreement between Walker and the union presidents. Despite his frequent disclaimers to the contrary, however, one suspects that Walker had a strong desire to lead the miners' union himself in order to carry on the Mitchell tradition. A primary issue for Walker was district autonomy, a policy encouraged by Mitchell at a time when the union was weak and the individual districts could gain the best bargaining advantage on their own. Mitchell's successors, however, sought to exert more control over the districts, a move Walker vehemently opposed. In 1910, UMWA president Tom L. Lewis, the man who had defeated Walker in the 1908 election, called for wage contracts to be reached for larger areas than individual districts. That same year Walker, as president of District 12, won a

favorable contract for Illinois miners. Walker's success in Illinois was embarrassing to Lewis and caused friction between the two.

Walker also criticized Lewis' successor, John P. White, who was elected in 1912. Walker expressed dissatisfaction with both his infringement on the autonomy of the Kansas miners (District 14), and his lax effort in organizing non-union fields. Following the urging of many of his friends, Walker agreed to challenge White for the union presidency in the 1916 election promising, if elected, to restore district autonomy and to increase organizing activities. The election was marred by claims that White used underhanded means to defeat Walker including widespread vote fraud. Incensed that an election which he thought he had won had been stolen from him, Walker sharply denounced the union leadership as a small cabal seeking only to enhance its own power at the expense of the true interests of the miners.

Walker remained at odds with the national union leaders until his departure from mining union affairs in 1933. His opposition was due to his sincere conviction that the union's interests were being mishandled. He sided with the Colorado district miners in their fight against the Executive Board when it revoked their district charter in 1917. He also was critical of the appointment of John L. Lewis to the union vice presidency when former vice president Frank J. Hayes was elevated to the

presidency following White's resignation in 1917. In 1918, Walker ran a third time for the presidency, this time against Hayes. Walker was convinced that the rank and file miners were angry that he had been denied the office in 1916. In the course of the campaign of 1918, Walker helped publicize a scandal in Panama, Illinois, in which members of Lewis' family were involved in embezzlement of local union funds. Walker hoped to discredit the union vice president who was seeking election to the office. Thus began the antagonism between Walker and Lewis which lasted until Lewis forced Walker out of union affairs in 1933. In the election of 1918 Walker was defeated again amid charges of vote fraud.

Walker feared that Lewis himself was aiming for the union presidency, a position from which he would brook no opposition. Walker's fears were realized in 1919 when Lewis became acting president and later won election to the office in 1920. In a move which Walker predicted, Lewis ruled him ineligible, by means of a technicality in the miners' constitution, both to represent the miners at the AFL convention, and later to run again for the UMWA presidency. Thus Lewis removed Walker as a threat to his position. Throughout the 1920s, Walker denounced Lewis, accusing him of collusion with coal operators and violation of the union constitution. Walker played no active role in UMWA affairs in the twenties, but he sided with those whom Lewis attacked in the president's effort to centralize the union.

The 1920s was not a good decade for the UMWA. Wartime overexpansion, development of cheaper fuels, and competition from non-union fields had resulted in dramatic losses in both union membership and wages. President Lewis determined that centralization of the union was necessary under the circumstances, and by 1929, he had brought every district under his control except Illinois. When he turned his efforts to District 12, the largest and most prosperous district, he encountered vigorous opposition, for many of its leaders opposed him. Walker joined District 12 officers in a bold but futile move to unseat the president. Citing illegal and underhanded activities of the union president, as well as the decline of the union under his leadership, the District 12 officers called for a convention in March of 1930 to reorganize the union. They also claimed that the union constitution had lapsed since no international convention had been held in 1929.

Walker joined the movement for a variety of reasons. His hatred of Lewis was intense, and the Reorganized movement offered a means to oppose him. By agreement of the organizing committee, Walker was slated to be the new union's president. Effectively, this meant that if the movement succeeded, Lewis and his coterie would be displaced, and Walker would become the new president of the coal miners' union. That Walker was not simply an opportunist was indicated by his continued support of the Reorganized movement even when the presidency was given

to someone else. He accepted the position of secretary-treasurer. Casting his lot with the bolting Illinois miners also meant leaving his position as state federation president, a post he had held since 1913.

As secretary-treasurer of the Reorganized UMWA, Walker labored tirelessly to strengthen the new organization within Illinois and attract locals from other districts. Despite his efforts, the movement was hamstrung by inadequate funds, internal dissension, and the active opposition of the Lewis group, which claimed to be the legitimate miners' union. A court decision in 1931 upheld the claim of the Lewis group, ruling the Reorganized movement a dual union, thereby abolishing it. The same ruling upheld the autonomy of District 12, however, and since Walker had been recently elected district president, he was able to continue opposition to Lewis. In 1932, Walker's inability to persuade Illinois miners to accept wage cuts necessitated by the Depression provided the opening by which Lewis was able to oust Walker, and bring District 12 under central control. Thus began the era of John L. Lewis' complete domination of the miners' union which he maintained until his retirement in 1960. This defeat ended Walker's active participation in mining affairs.

For the next twelve years, Walker served the interests of labor in various capacities, including responsibilities with the Chicago Men School Teachers' Union, the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmens' Union, and the Illinois Commerce Commission.

He retired from active union work in 1945. In the early 1950s, Walker joined his only daughter in Denver, where he died in 1955.

Like many whom he represented, Walker was an immigrant to America who believed in its promise of a better life. His career was composed of sincere attempts to win a greater share of opportunities for laboring men. Although Walker sought the presidency of the UMWA, his concern seemed to be to guide the union in what he considered to be the appropriate direction, rather than to accrue personal power. His continuing popularity with Illinois workingmen indicated that they appreciated him and truly considered him to be their representative. And he was popular. When he failed to win the UMWA presidency in 1916, the man elected to replace him as ISFL president withdrew, and the State Executive Board asked Walker to continue in office. Following the 1918 miners' election, the new state federation president did not withdraw, but Walker was easily returned to the position the following year. Similarly, his vote in the UMWA presidential elections, despite reported falsifications, reflected widespread support for Walker among miners nationally.

Most of the causes Walker championed, the cooperative movement, the Socialist party, a labor party, mining and other labor legislation, and the autonomy of mining districts within the union, achieved their greatest success before the early 1920s. The decade of the 1920s, and the years into the 1930s, were not good years for miners or labor in general, a fact

mirrored in Walker's career. Legislation favorable to labor was scarce in the 1920s, and Walker was as often absorbed in defeating proposals harmful to labor as advocating those favorable. The old Mitchell policy of autonomy among mining districts succumbed to the centralizing authority of John L. Lewis. The attempt to organize the potential political clout of the working man through third parties failed, and the labor vote returned to the two existing parties. Walker remained popular among miners and Illinois laborers despite the fact that many of his goals were not achieved. His continued status was due in part to his personable manner and his ability to relate effectively his own experiences as a miner which enabled him to withstand the occasional accusation from members of the rank and file that he was no longer one of them. Walker voiced the longings and dreams of working men. The fact that these dreams and goals often remained frustrated was more than simply an indication of one man's career; it was rather a reflection of the conditions encountered by laboring men and organizations in their attempts to improve their status in early twentieth-century America.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WALKER COLLECTION

The thirty-five cubic feet of papers in the Walker collection cover primarily the last three and one half decades of his career from 1911 to 1945, and include both personal papers and organizational records of the unions of which he was an officer. The final correspondence in the collection, involving Walker, his daughter, and University of Illinois economics professor Harriet Hudson, reveals how the papers came to the University of Illinois in the early 1950s. Dr. Hudson was engaged in a projected biography of Walker and convinced him to deposit his papers in the University of Illinois. The papers were housed in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations Library until 1966 when they were transferred to the Illinois Historical Survey Library.

Walker's original organization of his papers is not known. Following their transfer to the Survey, the papers were reorganized using a combination of chronological order and subject grouping and a lengthy folder inventory was prepared. Since that time, the collection has been used frequently and, when the present authors began work on the papers, they found significant portions misplaced. After a thorough review of the contents, an extensive reorganization was decided upon in order to make the various components of the collection more easily identified and accessible. The collection is now

organized into three general groups: correspondence (section I), organizational records (sections II & III), and other categories of papers acquired throughout his career (sections IV-IX). The following will explain the organization of the collection more fully.

The General Correspondence (section I), includes all correspondence in the collection except that belonging to the UMWA Reorganized (1930-31), and UMWA District 12 (1931-33), which is to be found under those respective headings. Walker's personal correspondence, as well as his official correspondence as president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor make up section I. The letters are filed chronologically, with the responses attached to the original letters where feasible. Also, enclosures have been kept with the correspondence where they are identifiable. Third-party correspondence, that which is neither to nor from Walker, nor identifiable as an enclosure, is filed chronologically at the end of section I and is included in the name index. Folder 385 includes miscellaneous letters belonging in the General Correspondence section which are undated, undesignated or unsigned, or fragments.

Section II contains the organizational records of the short-lived UMWA Reorganized in which Walker served as secretary-treasurer. Hence they are arranged as the papers of an organization rather than as Walker's personal papers. Most, if not all, of vice president Adolph Germer's correspondence was found

with the papers of the Reorganized movement. Since Walker and Germer carried on the majority of the movement's efforts, and president Alexander Howat left no known papers of the organization, this section of the Walker collection constitutes the official records of the UMWA Reorganized. Included are the constitution, the proceedings of the organizing convention held in Springfield, Illinois in March, 1930, the minutes of the Executive Board meetings, the weekly reports of organizers, the monthly reports of affiliating local unions, the financial records of the organization, miscellaneous legal and other papers, as well as the vice president and secretary-treasurer's correspondence.

There are actually three different correspondence files in section II. The first is that of vice president Adolph Germer, the second is that of secretary-treasurer Walker, and the third is one folder of correspondence of Sumner Holmberg, secretary-treasurer of Local 6000, the national headquarters in Springfield (folder 697). The correspondence in section II is arranged alphabetically, apparently reflecting the original filing system. As in section I, responses and enclosures are attached to the original letter where feasible.

Section III consists of the organizational papers of UMWA District 12, 1931-1933. The majority of the papers in this section is correspondence, including one folder of correspondence of Walker's predecessor, Harry Fishwick. As in section

II, the correspondence is arranged alphabetically, with responses and enclosures attached. During this period, which witnessed the depths of the Depression, Walker also served on the Illinois Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, and the Illinois Emergency Relief Association, which agencies are listed in the index. (See also folder 817 for additional information on Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief.) In addition to the correspondence, section III also includes executive board meeting minutes, financial records, legal papers, circulars, and other miscellaneous papers relating to mining and mining conditions in Illinois, and District 12's relations with the international union.

Throughout the collection letters to or from Walker which were intended for more than one person have been processed in several ways. If they were addressed to a large or undetermined general group such as all members of UMWA District 12, or the Labor Press in Illinois, they are not indexed and have been placed in the appropriate circular file. (See container list for descriptions of files 413, 684, 685, 760, 800, 810.) If, on the other hand, they were addressed to a smaller more readily identifiable group such as officers and board members of District 12, or members of the 43rd Iowa General Assembly, then they have been indexed and are included in the correspondence.

In the container list for both sections II and III, certain folder designations are followed by the letter "v" or

"b", e.g., (652v) or (656b). The "v" indicates a volume, usually a ledger, which records information such as membership or expenditures. The "b" indicates a group of books or booklets of like kind such as receipt books or check books which are grouped together as one item.

Sections IV through IX represent other papers accumulated throughout Walker's career which are arranged by categories. Section IV contains copies of legislative bills and information sheets relating to labor legislation in the Illinois General Assembly in the 1920s. As president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Walker was the main lobbyist for labor interests, and this section includes information on five of the major legislative issues touching Illinois labor in the 1920s. These were a proposed state military police system, old age pensions, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and a bill for an eight-hour day for women.

Section V consists of five folders of typescript copies of speeches, articles, and statements by Walker and others. They deal with a wide variety of topics such as court injunctions, unemployment, pensions, the League of Nations, as well as Labor Day and political speeches, and funeral commemorations. Many of the pieces have titles and dates; but many others do not. No list of titles or subjects has been compiled. Those that appear to be by Walker are arranged together, chronologically where possible.

Published pamphlets and periodicals found in the collection have been gathered together in section VI, and are arranged alphabetically by title. Title, author and date are listed in the Container List. None of the items was written by Walker.

Section VII contains six folders of newsclippings from the years 1910 to 1948. Walker collected many of these himself, while many others apparently were sent to him. Much labor history is represented in these clippings, including frequent references to Walker's nemesis, John L. Lewis. The clippings have been arranged chronologically, with undated items filed at the end of the section.

The remaining labor papers in the collection are divided into three categories in section VIII. The first contains papers of the UMWA other than those relating to District 12 from 1931 to 1933. Included are District 12 Executive Board meeting minutes from 1925-26, several UMWA committee reports, published reports, circulars received, and salary and contract information sheets. This section also includes folders with information on certain UMWA issues such as the UMWA presidential elections of 1916 and 1918 in which Walker was a candidate, the Rosiclare, Illinois strike in 1916, and the Panama, Illinois scandal in 1918. The second category in section VIII includes labor papers not related to the UMWA, such as Walker's expense accounts and receipts relating to his tenure as president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, papers on the cooperative

movement, labor injunctions, contract proposals, as well as resolutions, circulars, and other miscellaneous papers. The final category in Section VIII concerns non-labor activities which Walker was involved in by virtue of his position as a labor leader. These papers relate to various organizations and events such as the League of Nations, Springfield Zoning and Planning Commission, and the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief. Also included are miscellaneous reports, handbills, and information sheets on a wide variety of public issues.

Section IX, the final section of papers in the collection, consists of personal papers and includes financial records, photographs (some identified), Abraham Lincoln memorabilia, and some poetry.

John Hunter Walker Collection

Container List

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- G. Pamphlets (702).
 - "An Answer to a False Analysis of the First Semi-Annual Report of J. H. Walker, Secretary-Treasurer of UMWA" by International Executive Board, UMWA.
 - "John L. Lewis Files His Answer to Harry Fishwick's Injunction," by John L. Lewis.
 - "Message to the Coal Miners of Northern West Virginia," by Fred Mooney.
 - "Report of Cases Handled by Officers of Sub-District 7 of District 12, UMWA, for Months of September and October, 1930, and the Disposition of Same," by James Mason.
 - "The Wrecking of the Miners' Union," by Frank Farrington.

III. UMWA, District 12, 1931-1933 (703-766).

- A. Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1931-1933 (703).
- B. Presidential Correspondence (704-747).
 - 1. Harry Fishwick (704).
 - 2. John H. Walker (705-747).
 - A. 705
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- E. Union Relations (759-760).
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zation (759).
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- F. Miscellaneous (761-766).
 1. District 12 records (761).
 - a. Revised Constitution of Sub-District 9, District
12 UMWA, 1931.
 - b. Tellers Reports of Nominations for Sub-District
9, District 12, UMWA, 1933.
 2. Mining conditions in Illinois - reports and state-
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 3. Wage scale reports, contract discussion (763).
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- B. Old Age Pensions, 1920-1929 (770-772).
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- F. Miscellaneous legislative bills and information sheets
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V. Speeches, Articles, and Statements (780-784).

- A. John H. Walker, 1923-1945, n.d. (780-782).
- B. Various authors and unknown, 1898-1944, n.d. (783-784).

VI. Pamphlets (785-787)

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 by Samuel Rea, 1916

VII. News Clippings, 1910-1948, n.d. (788-793)

VIII. Subject File (794-824).

- A. UMWA (except District 12, 1931-1933) (794-802)
 - 1. Executive Board Meeting Minutes, District 12,
 1925-1926 (794).
 - 2. Mining Reports (795).
 - Walker Appeal of Pres. Lewis' Ruling, 1920
 - Report of Arbitration Committee Concerning Industrial
 Court Controversy in Kansas, 1921-1924

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Misconduct in District 12, Franklin Co., 1929.

3. 1916 UMWA Presidential Election (796).
 4. 1918 UMWA Presidential Election (797).
 5. Rosiclare, Illinois Strike, 1916 (798).
 6. Panama, Illinois Scandal, 1918 (799).
 7. Circular letters, received 1916-1931, n.d. (800).
 8. Published Pamphlets (801).
 - Report of the State Board of Tellers, Dist. 12, UMWA Election, Dec. 12, 1916
 - Report of the State Board of Tellers, Dist. 12, UMWA Election, Dec. 11, 1917
 - Forty-seventh Quarterly Report of Sub. Dist. No. 7 of Dist. 12, UMWA, Jan-March, 1930 Jas. Mason, Sec-Treasurer.
 9. Salary, contract information sheets, n.d. (802).
- B. Other Labor Papers (803-814).
1. Walker expense accounts and receipts, ISFL, 1916, 1920-1926, 1929-1930 (803).
 2. Legal Papers, 1916-1944, n.d. (804).
 3. Material on labor injunctions, 1910-1933, n.d. (805-807).
 4. Contract proposals and statements, 1926-1933, n.d. (808).
 5. Resolutions, 1898-1934, n.d. (809).
 6. Circular letters, received and sent, 1913-1945, n.d. (810).
 7. Cooperatives, 1917-1932, financial reports and news items (811).
 8. Memoranda (812).
 9. Lists (813).
 10. Certificates, membership cards, etc. (814).
- C. Related Activities (815-824).
1. League of Nations, 1929-1930 (815).
 2. Springfield Zoning and Plan Commission, 1923-1924, minutes and information sheets (816).
 3. Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief, Reports of Activities, September, 1931 - June, 1932 (817).
 4. University of Illinois, Conference on Collegiate Education for Business, 1926 (818).
 5. Pardons and Paroles, 1920s (819).
 6. Michael Igoe Affair, 1929 (820).
 7. Political Elections (821).
 8. Leaflets, Handbills (822).

9. Reports (823)
 - Brickmaking Industry Conference, Chicago, May, 1916
 - U.S. Commerce Department, The International Coal Trade Situation, September 16, 1930
 - Illinois Department of Labor, Reports of Division of Statistics and Research 1932 (8)
 - University of Chicago, Report on Supervisor Training Center, August, 1934
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 - University of Chicago Educational Research Projects, 1934 (3)
 - U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Reports, 1943-44 (6)
 - Report on Albert Thomas, n.d.
10. Various reports and information sheets (824).

IX. Personal (825-830).

- A. Financial papers (825).
- B. Photographs (826).
- C. Abraham Lincoln memorabilia (827).
- D. Abraham Lincoln, Daily Calendar, 1859, 1860, news clippings (828).
- E. Poetry (829).
- F. Miscellaneous (biographical statement, maps, photostat, steno book, etc.) (830).

X. Artifacts.

- A. Four Gavels.
- B. Three Stamps: Ridgely Farmers State Bank, Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank, Reorganized UMWA.
- C. Two Seals: United Mine Workers of America, Reorganized United Mine Workers of America.

WALKER CORRESPONDENCE
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1911-1916

Correspondence in the Walker papers began with some letters between Walker and former United Mine Workers of America president John Mitchell in 1911-1912. The letters revealed the warm friendship between the two men, and included brief, general comments on their activities. The first year of substantive correspondence was 1916, which was significant both in volume of correspondence, and issues relating to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America. As president of the ISFL, Walker was involved in the campaign for anti-injunction legislation, in the consumers' cooperative movement, and in political elections. As a member of the UMWA, Walker challenged incumbent John P. White in the union's presidential election.

The first state consumer cooperative society in Illinois was established in 1915, and Walker was elected president. By 1916, there were at least forty cooperative stores in Illinois, and Walker received requests for cooperative information from all parts of the country. In April he proposed a wholesale purchasing department through which all Illinois cooperatives would combine their purchasing. Plans were adopted at the second annual state cooperative convention held in Staunton in July, but the department did not materialize until later. The

Staunton convention, attended by twenty-one societies, adopted the name "Central States Cooperative Association." In May, Walker joined the Advisory Council of the Cooperative League of America.

Injunction limitation was another concern of the ISFL. The Clayton Act of 1914 had restricted the use of injunctions in federal courts, but not on the state level. Walker termed the need for state level anti-injunction legislation as "the most vitally important matter...which concerns the Trade Unionists of our state at the present time." At an anti-injunction conference in Chicago on May 28, attended by American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers, a model bill was adopted and plans were laid to canvass the political parties and their candidates concerning attitudes toward the bill. Despite vigorous efforts by labor groups, no bill was passed; injunction limitation in Illinois was still almost a decade away. Injunction limitation was one of four legislative measures which the Joint Labor Legislative Board, of which Walker was chairman, selected as a basis for testing the labor attitudes of Illinois General Assembly representatives. The 1916 correspondence contained many requests for the voting records and ISFL endorsements of General Assembly members facing re-election.

Walker became involved in a tense situation which developed in Hardin county in Southern Illinois when the fluorspar miners of Rosiclare went on strike in June. When a mining

company spy discovered their efforts to organize themselves, and the company summarily dismissed sixty-eight men, the miners struck. Tension increased when armed company men began harrasing the strikers. Walker sent UMWA representative William Sneed to Rosiclare to investigate, and issued an ISFL circular which appealed for financial assistance to the beleaguered miners. The strike was settled in early October. The Rosiclare situation put Walker in a dilemma since it also involved the jurisdiction of UMWA District 12 president Frank Farrington. Walker was more popular with the miners than was Farrington, a fact resented by the District 12 president. The Rosiclare strikers had looked more to Walker for leadership than to Farrington, and though Walker attempted to defer to Farrington, their relationship was strained.

In response to the persistent urging of friends, Walker agreed to run against incumbent John P. White for the presidency of the UMWA. Walker was disappointed with White's leadership in a recent contract agreement in the anthracite coal region. Walker felt that conditions allowed for a more favorable agreement, and that the White administration had missed a rare opportunity. Additionally the slow progress of union organization, and the actual decline in membership, convinced Walker to challenge White.

Much of the correspondence from August through December concerned the UMWA election. Walker expressed confidence in a

large margin of victory. However, reports of dirty politics used against him -- forged telegrams, false accusations, campaigning by union organizers, and ballot stuffing -- first angered and finally discouraged him. The correspondence in the last half of December was primarily between Walker and his official watcher in Indianapolis, John R. Schaefer, discussing the slowly-tabulated returns. By the end of December, Walker saw his chances of victory dimming in the face of what he claimed was widespread vote fraud in Pennsylvania, and support well below his expectations in Illinois.

A final incident in 1916 concerned Walker's political endorsements. The Socialist party, of which he was a member, brought charges against him for a breach of its constitution and platform when he endorsed both President Wilson and Governor Dunne for re-election instead of Socialist candidates. Walker insisted that, as an official of the AFL, he was bound to support its policy of endorsing the two Democrats as the candidates most favorable to injunction limitation on both the national and state level. Walker was banned from the party.

1917

Walker continued as president of the ISFL in 1917 despite the fact that he had not run for re-election. James F. Morris was elected to the position but, after Walker failed to win the UMWA presidency, Morris withdrew and the ISFL Executive

Board asked Walker to continue in office. Mining union issues, however, dominated the 1917 correspondence including discussion of the 1916 election, union dissension in Colorado, and substantial wage increases for miners. The correspondence also revealed minimal advances of Illinois labor on the legislative front, and Walker's appointment in the Illinois State Council of Defense.

The tabulation of votes from the December election for the UMWA presidency was completed in late January, and indicated that Walker lost by 8,500 votes out of a total of nearly 200,000. Walker expressed the conviction that the voting was marred by fraud, and that, if an honest count were made, he would have been elected by at least 40,000 votes. A large portion of the 1917 correspondence concerned discussion of the election by Walker's friends, and attempts to prove fraud in order to overturn the results. In addition to obtaining affidavits from miners at the local level, Walker appealed to union secretary William Green, the Executive Board, and the election tellers for interpretations of the UMWA constitution, and for verification of ineligible locals in order that the fraudulent votes would be thrown out. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. At the end of the year, Walker was making preparations to raise the election issue at the international convention in Indianapolis in January, 1918.

Another issue in 1917 was the dispute between the Colorado miners (District 15) and the UMWA Executive Board.

Although Walker was not directly involved, his sympathies were with the Colorado miners. At issue was the centralization of power within the union. For reasons not explained, the Executive Board revoked the District 15 charter and refused to allow an appeal. In response, the Colorado miners called a special convention among themselves to discuss the matter. The miners hinted at a bolt from the union if they failed to gain satisfaction from the Executive Board. A contract settlement reached between the Board and Colorado coal operators apparently restored peace, at least on the surface. However, the price of the settlement included deposition of two District 15 officers, John Lawson, and E. L. Doyle, both friends of Walker. Walker corresponded with Doyle, urging the Colorado miners to stay in the union.

The correspondence revealed yet a third instance of Walker's discontent with UMWA leadership. Wartime conditions had raised the price of coal, and Walker and others were convinced that at least a ten percent wage increase for miners could be won from the coal operators. According to Walker, the Executive Board hesitated to press coal operators for a raise because it would reflect poorly on the Board's efforts in an agreement recently negotiated. Leaders from several mining districts discussed with Walker the possibility of calling a special convention over wages. There was no evidence in the correspondence that a convention was ever held, but there were references to actual wage increases in some regions, including a ten percent increase in the anthracite district.

1917 was not a successful year for labor legislation in Illinois. The injunction-limitation bill and the women's eight-hour bill were both narrowly defeated. The only success mentioned was an amendment to earlier legislation providing for compulsory compensation for accident or death.

Following American entry into World War I, Walker was appointed by Gov. Frank Lowden as a labor representative to the Illinois State Council of Defense, a body designed to supervise the wartime economy of the state. Walker's membership on the Council occasioned some criticism from his Socialist friends, particularly Ed Wieck and Adolph Germer, national secretary of the Socialist party. Walker's exchanges with these men provide insight into his views on the issues World War I raised for labor.

1918

The correspondence of 1918 was concerned almost entirely with UMWA affairs. Very little dealt with Walker's responsibilities in the ISFL. The three noteworthy issues of 1918 were the continuing miner dissatisfaction in Colorado, a scandal in Panama, Illinois involving the Lewis family, and most importantly, the UMWA presidential election.

Discontent simmered among the rank and file of Colorado miners following the events of 1917 in which their district autonomy was subverted and two of their district leaders were

deposed by the union leadership. In January, a district election was held in which, according to one correspondent, the deposed leaders Lawson and Doyle received eighty percent of the vote. However, the International office counted the ballots and declared its candidates winners. Incensed, the majority of Colorado miners withdrew from the union and formed the Independent Union of Mine Workers of America. Walker corresponded with some of the dissidents, criticizing them for withdrawing from the union.

A scandal in the miners' union resulted from the disclosure that officers and other members of UMWA Local 1475, Panama, Illinois, were involved in embezzlement of union funds. Three members of the Lewis family, relatives of UMWA vice president John L. Lewis, were implicated. Walker circulated a report of the scandal hoping to discredit Lewis as the election of International officers approached.

As in 1917, the election of UMWA officers dominated the correspondence of 1918. Walker was convinced that the rank and file of the union were aware both that he had been wrongfully denied the 1916 election, and that the International officers were scoundrels. Hence, he was confident that he would be elected president in December, 1918, replacing Frank Hayes. Thomas Kennedy, president of District 7 (Pennsylvania) ran for vice-president against John L. Lewis. Since Kennedy was from the anthracite region, Walker believed that he would be able to prevent the ballot-stuffing in that area which had cost

Walker many votes in the 1916 election. From early in the campaign, Walker was certain that the incumbents again would attempt to steal the election. The correspondence from September through December was concerned overwhelmingly with election strategy and speculation. Tabulation of the voting did not begin until after the New Year.

1919

The 1919 correspondence covered only the months from January to March. The reason is unclear, but may have been related to the fact that Walker held no official position after March. The major topic of discussion in the three months was the presidential election of the previous December.

By official count, Walker lost the UMWA presidential election by 26,000 votes. He was convinced, however, that once again the election had been stolen from him, and that at least 60,000 votes were fraudulent. He appealed the results to the tellers, but was refused. Several friends urged him to stage a fight over the issue, but Walker resigned himself to defeat. He urged changes in the UMWA constitution which would make fraudulent voting more difficult, but the proposals were ignored. Walker and his friends expressed growing concern that the incumbent president Frank Hayes was simply a pawn in the hands of a group centered around vice president John L. Lewis, who sought firm control of the miners' organization. A year later, Lewis

himself succeeded to the presidency, from which position he dominated the UMWA for forty years.

When Walker announced his candidacy for the UMWA presidency in 1918, Duncan MacDonald, secretary-treasurer of District 12, was elected to succeed him as ISFL president. The correspondence revealed bad feelings between MacDonald and Walker when the former did not step down as James Morris had done in 1916, after Walker lost his election bid. At the wish of the Executive Board of the State Federation, Walker continued as its representative at the state capitol throughout the 1919 legislative session.

1920

The correspondence resumed in February 1920; in April Walker was re-elected ISFL president. Despite his return to that office and the fact he ran for governor on the Farmer-Labor ticket, the majority of the correspondence once again concerned the UMWA.

Although several friends urged him, Walker declined to run again for the UMWA presidency. Robert Harlin, president of District 10 (Washington), and Alexander Howat, president of District 14 (Kansas), challenged the Lewis administration for the presidency and vice presidency. Walker actively supported Harlin and Howat, but the correspondence reflected his conviction that even though the challengers would receive a majority of

votes, the incumbents would prevent an honest count.

Walker continued to oppose Lewis in UMWA affairs. He criticized a coal strike settlement which provided less than the miners were demanding. When District 5 (Pittsburgh area) miners called a special convention to air grievances related to the national leadership, Walker addressed the convention expressing sympathy for their cause. Lewis branded the meeting illegal.

In March, Lewis ruled Walker ineligible to run for delegate of the miners' union to the AFL convention. Lengthy correspondence resulted in which Lewis and Walker disputed interpretations of the UMWA constitution. The Lewis ruling was upheld by the Executive Board. Walker feared that the move established a precedent by which Lewis would also declare him ineligible to run for the UMWA presidency later in the year, thus removing Walker as a challenge to his control. Walker was, in fact, declared ineligible.

Another issue briefly mentioned in the correspondence was the nationalization of the mines and the formation of a labor party. The UMWA convention had apparently endorsed both of these platforms but the Lewis administration ignored them. Walker and others accused the executive leadership of collaboration with coal operators at the expense of miner interests. No discussion of the issues was permitted in the United Mine Workers Journal. Walker strongly favored a national labor party and became active in the leadership of the Farmer-Labor Party of

1920. He ran as its candidate for governor in Illinois, winning support for the ticket from the ISFL. Walker must not have campaigned vigorously for there was surprisingly little mention of the election in the correspondence. He polled less than three percent of the vote. The correspondence included discussion of the pros and cons of a labor party.

1921

John L. Lewis, the Kansas industrial court law, and legislative concerns of Illinois labor were the major topics covered in the correspondence of 1921.

Walker and several correspondents discussed the possibility of calling a special convention to dispute the count of the 1920 UMWA presidential election. However, they decided against it believing that a special convention would be packed with hand-picked Lewis delegates from the paper organizations created for the election. Instead they decided to wait until the regularly-scheduled convention in September, when they hoped their chances would be better. There was no direct discussion of the September convention, simply an indication that their efforts were unsuccessful. District 12 president Frank Farrington discussed with Walker evidence of misappropriation of funds as well as other questionable or illegal activities of the union leadership. Walker's circulation of this information brought demands for an investigation, but nothing more.

More important among UMWA affairs was the miner unrest in Kansas centering around District 14 President Alexander Howat. Howat led a strike in defiance of the Kansas Industrial Court and was subsequently jailed. He was denounced by President Lewis; the Kansas and Illinois miners announced their support, and the ISFL donated assistance funds. Walker assumed that Lewis was using the situation to undercut Howat who had demonstrated widespread popularity in the union election the previous year. In November, Walker went to Kansas in support of Howat and the Kansas miners who were maintaining a near-complete shutdown of the mines.

Legislative concerns of labor in Illinois included bills favoring injunction limitation, a women's eight-hour law, and a one day's rest in seven law. Labor forces opposed a military police bill, an industrial court bill, an anti-picketing bill, and a bill allowing suits against voluntary organizations. In April, Walker wrote a letter to a student explaining labor's opposition to immigration.

1922

The major issues of 1922 reflected in Walker's correspondence were the continuing miner unrest in Kansas and the related power struggle within the UMWA between International President John L. Lewis and District 14 President Alex Howat.

Lewis had denounced Howat for defying the Kansas Industrial Court in 1921. The union president revoked the District 14 charter and the charters of eighty-one local unions, and appointed provisional officers. An agreement between a local coal company and provisional leaders in late summer of 1922 excluded pro-Howat miners from returning to work unless they acknowledged themselves as violators of UMWA policy, and submitted to unspecified penalties. Walker denounced Lewis' tactics and continued to support Howat. Much of his correspondence for 1922 was with pro-Howat people, including the jailed leader himself, Mother Jones in Washington, D. C., John Steele, acting secretary-treasurer of the Howat faction in Kansas, and other local observers. Although he sympathized with their grievances, Walker urged the Kansas miners to remain within the organization to continue the fight against Lewis.

Walker also criticized the settlement which ended a five-month national coal strike. The agreement included a provision for a national committee of experts appointed by the President to make recommendations concerning the coal industry. Walker disliked the arrangement since he was convinced that President Harding would appoint to the committee such non-union coal operators as Andrew Mellon.

If UMWA affairs were discouraging for Walker, there were successes on the Illinois labor front. In spite of attempts to unseat him, Walker was re-elected to another two-year term as ISFL president. More significant was labor's successful

fight against the proposed state constitution of that year. The document presented to the voters did not guarantee labor's right to organize and strike; instead, it actually increased the authority of the state supreme court to issue binding declarations by which strikes could be stopped. Walker and the State Federation of Labor led the fight against the constitution which was defeated over-whelmingly by a five to one ratio. Another legislative victory was the defeat of the bill to establish a military police system in Illinois. Labor leaders viewed military police as a potential strikebreaking force, and therefore inimical to the interests of labor.

Surprisingly, there was only scant reference in the correspondence to the Herrin mine war and massacre in June. Walker mentioned it in two letters only, deploring the violence and loss of life as well as the damage such incidents caused the labor movement.

1923

In 1923 substantive issues were few as reflected in Walker's correspondence. He was not involved in any UMWA conflicts, and ISFL affairs centered on continuing efforts to defeat a state military police bill.

John Steele of Kansas corresponded with Walker throughout the year, advising him of conditions there and of the activities of Alexander Howat. Peace was restored to the Kansas

coal fields, aided by the election of a governor more sympathetic to the miners. Once out of jail, Howat challenged the Lewis organization for control of the UMWA, in the course of which he became involved with the Progressive International Committee of Miners. His efforts, according to Steele, served only to discredit him. Walker remained aloof from this affair.

Early in the year, Walker was actively involved in the effort to defeat the establishment of a state military police system in Illinois. He corresponded with state labor federation officers of states which had military police, to determine their impact. Responses were generally unfavorable to a military police system.

1924

The correspondence of 1924, like that of the previous year, lacked major issues. There was little discussion of either UMWA affairs, or the legislative concerns of the ISFL.

Walker's leadership of the ISFL was challenged by Richard O'Halloran, editor of a labor journal published in LaSalle, Illinois. O'Halloran charged Walker with unconstitutional actions and ran against him unsuccessfully for the ISFL presidency.

Brief reference was made to the Progressive political campaign of 1924. In correspondence with James Lord, former president of the Mining Department of the AFL, there was some

discussion of the LaFollette movement. Walker explained that, although the AFL supported the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket nationally, no Progressive party would be established in Illinois in order not to jeopardize labor's standing with the existing political parties.

Many of the letters of 1924 were appeals to Walker for assistance; either requests for jobs, or requests for support in parole appeals.

1925

Correspondence in 1925 was concerned primarily with the requests made of Walker as president of the ISFL. These included pleas for appointment to positions in either the labor movement by Walker, or in state government through the governor. There were also frequent petitions from state penitentiary inmates seeking Walker's assistance in a pardon or parole. Walker was obliging in almost all instances, endorsing the request when he could, and deferring to the jurisdiction of others when appropriate.

There was little discussion of the UMWA, and Walker was not involved actively in its affairs. The death of Samuel Gompers elevated William Green to the AFL presidency, and Thomas Kennedy replaced Green as secretary-treasurer of the UMWA. Walker's relationship with both had been strained by previous experiences, but at this time he re-established a degree of cordiality with them.

In legislative affairs, the military police bill remained an issue, and labor succeeded in obtaining an anti-injunction law.

1926

Correspondence in 1926 was concerned mainly with ISFL affairs. A large portion of the letters were requests for jobs or favors where Walker might have influence. Walker discussed with Gov. Len Small several instances where non-union coal or non-union labor were being used on state projects. Political correspondence discussed the ISFL endorsement of Frank L. Smith over incumbent William B. McKinley in the Republican senatorial primary. Reference was made in the correspondence to an attack on Walker made on the floor of the U.S. Senate by Arkansas Senator Thaddeus H. Caraway, concerning the Senate investigation of the use of campaign funds in the Illinois senatorial primary. There was also a nominal challenge to Walker's leadership of the ISFL by the president of the Springfield Federation of Labor, John Gaffigan.

1927

The 1927 correspondence contained occasional discussion of such continuing legislative concerns of the ISFL as opposition to a state military police bill, support for old-age pensions, and one day's rest in seven. In addition to these concerns,

Walker was a member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi River Commission, and the Chicago Flood Control Conference. In a special election for Circuit Judge in Danville, Walker supported Judge Augustus A. Partlow. Walker wrote to several Danville labor leaders, urging Partlow's election because of his refusal to grant a number of labor injunctions. Finally there were innumerable letters requesting Walker's assistance in securing jobs, appointments, and paroles. In one instance, Walker and Senator Charles Deneen worked successfully for the discharge from the Navy of an under-age recruit.

Walker played no active role in the UMWA, but maintained a moderately friendly correspondence with secretary-treasurer Thomas Kennedy.

1928

The political endorsements of the ISFL, Walker's attendance at an international labor conference, and requests from miners that he run again for the UMWA presidency were the issues of 1928. In the Republican primary election in April, Walker endorsed the senatorial candidacy of Frank Smith, and the gubernatorial candidacy of incumbent Len Small over challenger Louis Emmerson. Both Smith and Small, however, were defeated. Despite the urging of other labor leaders, Walker was reluctant to endorse Emmerson since he was skeptical of Emmerson's attitudes toward a state military police system, and upcoming legislation

affecting coal mining. Walker remained lukewarm toward Emmerson. He did, however, endorse Herbert Hoover for President, and expressed labor's support for those favoring high tariffs in order to keep out cheaply-made foreign goods which threatened American industry. Also he supported those favoring immigration restriction so that foreign workers, who would work for lower wages, could not undermine the American labor movement.

On behalf of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association of Illinois, Walker attended the International Labor Conference in Geneva in May. Since American organizations were not members of the international body, Walker attended as an observer only. He told Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Office in Geneva, that absolute autonomy and the ability to dissociate from actions of the international body would be the only conditions under which the AFL would affiliate.

As another UMWA presidential election approached, Walker was encouraged by numerous correspondents to run once again, and he was nominated by several local unions. He did not clarify whether he was interested, but he did correspond with president John L. Lewis, inquiring as to his own eligibility. Lewis replied that Walker was ineligible.

1929

In the correspondence of 1929, Walker repented to attacks upon himself by Communist William Z. Foster and State Representa-

tive Michael Igoe. Another issue was the growing dissatisfaction among miners within District 12 of the UMWA.

In the February issue of the publication Labor Unity, William Z. Foster denounced Walker as a hypocrite among labor leaders and a tool of capitalist interests. Specifically, Foster attacked Walker's participation on the President's Mediation Commission during the war, denouncing the Commission as a body designed to thwart labor interests. In a letter to Victor Olander, Walker reviewed and defended the work of the Commission, and his own role, particularly in reference to the issue of the packing house workers. Walker asked Olander to publicize his letter as part of a campaign against Communist influence among labor.

On two occasions, one in March, the other in June, State Representative Michael Igoe, a Chicago Democrat, verbally attacked Walker and the Joint Labor Legislative Board in the Illinois General Assembly. Igoe had at one time supported labor legislation, but his recent votes against several labor bills brought criticism from labor leaders including Walker. In the second attack, Igoe called Walker a "labor racketeer," and blamed him for the failure of labor to obtain more favorable legislation. The Joint Labor Legislative Board issued a defense of itself and Walker. Nothing more came from the incidents.

By 1929, UMWA President John L. Lewis had undermined the autonomy of all mining districts except Illinois. In June, he

revoked the charter of an Illinois subdistrict because of evidence of corruption. In September Lewis announced that part of the District 12 constitution conflicted with that of the international union. When district officials ignored him in both instances, Lewis revoked the district charter and appointed provisional district officers. Led by President Harry Fishwick, the original officers refused to capitulate, and the ensuing confrontation led to the formation of the rebel Reorganized UMWA. In October, Walker received a set of resolutions from a local in Coal City, Illinois, which called for a debate between the two factions. By November, some Illinois locals were withholding their dues from the UMWA. As the lines of division tightened, Walker remained cautious and maintained his standing in the international union. To some correspondents, however, he argued in favor of local autonomy, and quoted former UMWA President John Mitchell that, in the event that a corrupt officer entrenched himself in power, a new organization might in fact be necessary.

UMWA REORGANIZED, 1930-31

As 1930 began, District 12 officers and others dissatisfied with John Lewis' leadership of the UMWA pondered ways he might be overthrown. They proposed calling a convention to readopt the UMWA constitution which, by their interpretation, had expired on March 31, 1929. The call went out for a convention

to meet in Springfield, Illinois on March 10. Grievances listed against president Lewis included decline of UMWA membership, loss of union organization in some coal fields, election stealing, convention packing, and invasion of district autonomy. Four hundred fifty delegates met in Springfield and adopted a constitution for a Reorganized UMWA minutes before a rival Lewis convention in Indianapolis under Lewis' leadership did the same. Walker was elected secretary-treasurer, Adolph Germer vice president, and Alexander Howat president.

The stronghold of the Reorganized movement was Illinois, but a primary aim was organization and inclusion of coal fields in other states. Walker corresponded with all of the organizers assigned to these fields. They expressed optimism, but the depressed condition of the industry and the limited financial resources of the fledgling movement hampered and ultimately throttled the attempt to organize fields outside of Illinois. In the fall of 1930, Illinois miners made a concerted effort to aid miners at Kelly Creek, West Virginia, who were striking over a proposed twenty-five percent wage reduction. When Lewis told the miners to accept the wage reduction, they balked, and Walker's correspondence revealed that the Reorganized union assisted them by raising over \$11,900 for relief. The miners finally won concessions.

Besides failing to win sufficient miner support outside of Illinois, the Reorganized movement failed to gain recognition

from the AFL. In March, 1930, AFL President William Green refused a request from the Reorganized officers to mediate between the factions of the UMWA. In October Green refused Walker's request that the Reorganized group be granted a hearing at the AFL convention in Boston. Additionally, Green wrote ISFL secretary-treasurer Victor Olander in August, 1930 informing him that the Reorganized miners were not to be recognized at the ISFL convention because only organizations affiliated with the AFL were entitled to representation.

The correspondence reflected difficulties facing the new union within Illinois as well. One problem was the personalities involved. District 12 president Harry Fishwick and former president Frank Farrington aligned with the movement; both men were disliked or suspected of shady dealings by the Illinois rank and file. As the movement was first organizing, concern about the role of these men was expressed by Illinois miners. One miner from Sawyerville wrote to Adolph Germer: "Our local is strong against Farrington and some of them [sic] believe that this move is to put him at the head of the organization again and we have instructions that if he is a dominating factor in the meeting we are to bolt." Farrington was initially denied any role in the Reorganized group. When he announced his candidacy for the secretary-treasurer position in January, 1931, the uproar against him reappeared. Harry Fishwick remained as president of District 12 until Walker was elected to replace him in April, 1931.

Another instance of internal friction occurred when Walker appointed Joe Carnella for a specific task in relation to a contract settlement. Carnella had earned the distrust of the miners of southern Illinois when he was president of sub-district 6. When the rank and file heard of his appointment, they protested that this was the same kind of Lewis-style autocratic rule which the new movement aimed to avoid. Indeed, one of the specific items agreed upon at the convention was the election, not appointment, of organizers. Walker responded that Carnella was appointed to a specific task and was not an organizer; nonetheless the bad feeling remained.

The Reorganized forces also faced significant opposition from Lewis supporters within Illinois, which extended even to violence. In April, 1930, vice president Germer was physically assaulted while attempting to hold a meeting in Royalton, Illinois. In July, Joseph Claypool of Terre Haute, Indiana was taken across the state line into Illinois where he was tarred and feathered for his attempts to bring Indiana miners into the Reorganized movement. Local law enforcement authorities were uncooperative in attempts to identify and prosecute the perpetrators.

Although fiercely opposed from without, divided from within, and financially weakened by the depressed condition of the industry, the actual demise of the Reorganized effort came by judicial ruling. The organization was involved in litigation with the Lewis group throughout its brief existence,

with injunctions and counterclaims concerning the use of the property and the name UMWA. The final decree was issued on March 6, 1931, stating that the Indianapolis-based group was the true UMWA, and abolishing the international section of the Reorganized movement, but affirming the autonomy of District 12. Former Illinois Supreme Court Justice Floyd E. Thompson was the main legal representative of the Reorganized Illinois miners.

Walker exchanged friendly letters with Michael Ferguson and William Mitch which discussed the District 11 (Indiana) decision not to join the Reorganized movement. Failure to gain the support of District 11 badly damaged the rebel union's chances of success. On a related topic, AFL President William Green, upon determining Walker's participation in the Reorganized movement, wrote him requesting his resignation from the ISFL presidency, since the AFL considered the Reorganized a dual, and therefore illegal movement. Walker resigned on April 9.

Some correspondence for 1930 was not related to the official Reorganized UMWA movement. Walker favored American adherence to the World Court and agreed to a request from the Committee of the American Peace Award to have his name used in a letter to President Hoover advocating U.S. participation. Walker also wrote to other labor leaders to enlist their support.

District 12, 1931-33

Walker assumed the presidency of District 12 less than a month after a legal decree abolished the Reorganized movement.

In his efforts to unify and stabilize the miners' union in Illinois, Walker faced opposition from two sides. On one side the recalcitrants from the Reorganized movement viewed any settlement with Lewis as a sell-out, and they heaped invectives on Walker. Among these was former Reorganized president Alexander Howat who led a convention in St. Louis in April, 1931, opposing the settlement. Similar meetings were held among the Illinois rank and file during the spring and summer of 1931, culminating in the formation of the Progressive Miners Union in September 1932. On the other side, Walker faced attempts by Lewis to undermine District 12 autonomy. These events were reflected in Walker's correspondence with Barney Flaherty, Adolph Germer, and R. H. Hippleheuser. Flaherty, an old friend of Walker's, opposed the March, 1931 settlement; Germer, then the editor of the Rockford Labor News, sought to assist Walker, and Hippleheuser was an Associated Press correspondent who was preparing an article on mining contract discussions in Illinois.

Wage contract negotiations were a major issue facing Walker as District 12 president since the existing contract expired at the end of March, 1932. Negotiations stalled, the miners struck, and when a contract finally was presented to them, they rejected it because of its wage reduction, despite the fact that it was the most favorable contract in the bituminous coal industry. Walker blamed the rejection on misrepresentation both by disgruntled radicals, and by covert Lewis forces who

did not want Walker to succeed. Publicly Lewis supported the contract settlement but Walker expressed the conviction that he was secretly undermining it. Walker's inability to get a contract signed was used by the District 12 Executive Board as cause for his removal as president. The board requested Lewis to dismiss Walker and establish a provisional government, which Lewis did in February, 1933.

Other issues reflected in the correspondence included Walker's political activities, and his participation on state commissions for Depression relief. He served as vice chairman of the Activities Committee of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief. This commission was concerned with relief in Illinois counties other than Cook. The official report of the Activities Committee for the period August 25, 1931 to March 31, 1932 was included as an enclosure in the correspondence. There were also many personal appeals for relief addressed to Walker from laboring men. Politically, Walker supported the unsuccessful candidacy of Republican Len Small for governor in 1932, and the correspondence indicated that Walker participated in the Republican national convention in Chicago.

1934-52

Following his removal as UMWA District 12 president, Walker remained active in various labor endeavors into the 1940's. In March of 1934, he was appointed business and legislative representative for the Men's Teachers Union of Chicago,

with whom he was associated for three and a half years. During that time he participated in the consolidation of two teachers' unions in Chicago as well as the organization of teachers' locals. Also in 1934 there were several letters which Walker signed as Director of Federal Housing activities of the Chicago Federation of Labor. However, the correspondence provided little information on this responsibility. One letter was addressed to the Regional Director of the Federal Housing Administration, asking that federal authorities recognize in their dealings with the building trades the established wage scales, hours, and conditions which had been achieved in past negotiations. Following his work with the teachers' union, Walker was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Illinois Commerce Commission, a position he held for three years. There were several letters signed under this title, but the correspondence did not reveal the nature of his activities.

The correspondence for these years did not deal extensively with the positions he held, but it reflected his views of some of the national and international issues of the era. As the Depression worsened in the early 1930's, Walker's political allegiance switched from the Republican party to the Democratic party. In the teens and twenties Walker had supported Illinois' Republican governors Frank Lowden and Len Small, and in 1928, moderately supported Louis Emmerson as well as Pres. Herbert Hoover. By 1934, however, Walker was defending Franklin

Roosevelt and the New Deal. In that year, Walker wrote a scathing letter to Chicago Tribune editor Col. Robert H. McCormick in response to an editorial attacking Roosevelt and his policies. In 1936, Walker wrote to congressmen advocating support for Roosevelt's neutrality policy. Occasionally Walker expressed his own views on the Depression, advocating a shortened work week to address the problem of massive unemployment. The correspondence also reflected his political support for Scott Lucas in his 1938 senatorial bid, and Harry B. Hershey's campaign for Illinois governor in 1940.

After World War I, Walker had expressed internationalist views, and advocated U.S. participation in the League of Nations and the World Court. In response to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Walker wrote Secretary of State Cordell Hull in May, 1936, calling for application of the principle of non-recognition of changes brought about in violation of existing treaties. In June of the same year, Walker was asked to participate in the planning of local councils of an international group called World Fellowship which sought to bring peace and understanding among the peoples of the world.

A considerable portion of the correspondence in these years was personal. In March, 1935, Walker's brother Jim was seriously injured in a mining accident which left him partially paralyzed. Walker corresponded frequently with family members for a long period thereafter. In the early 1950s Walker

reminisced in correspondence with University of Illinois economics professor Harriet Hudson who was overseeing a projected biography of Walker. The project was never completed, but this exchange led to the depositing of the Walker papers in the University of Illinois library.

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